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ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

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Monthly Summary.*

DOMESTIC.—On Wednesday evening, 2nd ult., an interesting meeting was held at the house of Mr. Henry Sterry, Finsbury Circus, to afford the Rev. James Long the opportunity of submitting to a few friends a *viva voce* statement relating to the serf question in Russia. Mr. Long's letters, published in the columns of this journal, contain the chief points which were brought under the notice of the meeting, but Mr. Long was enabled, on the present occasion, and in answer to questions from Mr. John Bright, Mr. Josiah Forster, and others, to furnish particular information on special features of the serf-emancipation movement, which would appear to be progressing in a highly satisfactory manner. Mr. Long has been holding several similar meetings in various parts of England.

Miss Emily Faithful, of the Victoria Press, "Printer and Publisher in ordinary to Her Majesty," has just issued two new tracts, Nos. 6 and 7, for the "Ladies' London Emancipation Committee," one entitled *The Chivalry of the South*, by Emily Shirreff, the other by Miss S. F. Remond, called *Negroes and Anglo-Africans as Freedmen and Soldiers*. The price of each respectively is one penny and threepence. Both are deserving of a wide circulation.

* The publication of the *Reporter* has been unfortunately delayed this month, in consequence of an accident.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

The Committee of the *Manchester Union and Emancipation Society* have issued a Circular, calling for aid. A small balance remained at the Society's bankers, but in anticipation of pressing work to be done during the present Parliamentary session, the members and friends of the Society are asked to forward their subscriptions without delay. The Circular states that "the abettors of the Southern Confederacy are determined, notwithstanding their repeated discomfitures, to effect the recognition of the South if possible;" and that "measures the most unscrupulous have been and will be adopted to accomplish this end." A tabular statement appended to the Circular shows a list of upwards of 250 public meetings held and delivered throughout the country, with results unmistakeably in favour of a free North. Another statement exhibits a circulation of 365,000 tracts and other publications upon the American crisis.

The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury have, on the recommendation of Viscount Palmerston, granted the sum of 100*l*. "as of Her Majesty's Royal Bounty," to the widow of the late Mr. Consul Hanson, who, it will be remembered, lost his life in August 1862, in an heroic attempt to save the Royal African mail steamer *Cleopatra*, which had run aground at the mouth of the Sherbro river, West Africa. His Grace the Duke of Newcastle has also confirmed the appointment made by Major Blackall, Governor of Sierra Leone, of the eldest son of Mrs. Hanson to the post of Surveyor of Customs. The high

character and great ability of the young man were prominently dwelt upon by Major Blackall in recommending him for the office.

On Monday, 21st ult., a deputation waited upon the Chevalier De Andrada, at No. 9 Cavendish Square—until recently the official residence of the Ambassador of Brazil—to present an Address, to be forwarded to the Emperor, on the subject of the extinction of Slavery and the slave-trade in the Brazilian empire, adopted by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*. A copy of the Address, and a report of the interview, will be found in another column.

AFRICA.—On the 4th January, the newly-elected President of Liberia, Daniel Bashell Warner, was inaugurated into office, and delivered his first message. It is a striking composition, on account of the very practical homely suggestions it contains for the carrying out of systematic retrenchment, and a more profitable expenditure of the income of the Republic. Mr. Warner is the third President of Liberia.

Private advices from Khartum, to the 12th Nov. ult., state that the slave-trade from the region of the White Nile is being carried on to a most alarming extent.

RUSSIA.—The St. Petersburg journals have published four decrees relative to the kingdom of Poland. The first states that the Emperor, wishing to complete the work undertaken by his predecessor, pursued since 1858, and interrupted by the events of 1863, decrees that the peasants, on payment of a land-tax, shall become the proprietors of the land of which they have the life possession; that the old dues are abolished, and that an adequate indemnity is granted to the landed proprietors. The second orders the abolition of the patrimonial right, or jurisdiction of the landed proprietors over the peasants; the formation of rural communes, and meetings of electors; these assemblies to be composed of the inhabitants who possess a certain extent of land, and to whom will belong the election of mayors and other communal functionaries. The third determines the mode of indemnifying the proprietors; creates titles of Five per Cent *Rentes* with a sinking fund, and appropriates to that purpose the new land-tax collected from the peasants, the produce of the sale of certain State domains, and other special resources. The fourth decree entrusts the execution of those measures to a Committee to sit at Warsaw under the presidentship of the lieutenant of the kingdom of Poland. Those decrees completely sever the bond which existed between the nobility and the peasants in that country.

UNITED STATES.—*The War.*—The belligerent forces have not made any decisive demonstrations yet. Major-General Grant had been appointed Lieutenant-General of the United-States' army, being the highest

military rank the President is empowered to confer.

Grant, after visiting the army of the Potomac, returned with Meade to Washington, and left immediately for the West.

General Meade retains the command of the army of the Potomac. He remains in a position of observation, every movement made by General Lee being immediately met by a counter-movement. The two generals are simply keeping each other in a state of perpetual check.

The siege of Charleston appears to be suspended for the present.

At Chattanooga the position of the Federals remained intact.

General Sherman had made a demonstration in the South-west, though for what precise object no one appears to know. Whatever it may have been, it was frustrated, as the general had returned to Vicksburg, having lost 500 men; but he is reported to have captured and brought back 8000 negroes, 400 prisoners, and large droves of cattle. The rebel property destroyed by the expedition amounts to many million dollars. He had left Vicksburg, with a force of from 25,000 to 30,000 men, in light marching order, and with provisions for twenty days, intending to march twenty miles a day, and effect a lodgment—as it is said—at Selma, Alabama. A Federal cavalry force was to effect a junction with him, which, however, it failed to accomplish; and Sherman, having penetrated thirty-five miles beyond Meridian, destroying several miles of the Mobile and Ohio railroad, and breaking down a bridge upon it, severing Polk's forces, returned to Vicksburg. The cavalry force co-operating reached West Point, Mississippi, when it was attacked by the Confederates, in strength, and compelled to retreat with heavy loss.

In Florida the Federals had fallen into an ambuscade, and, after a severe engagement, had retreated on Jacksonville, with the loss of 1200 men and five guns.

Admiral Farragut had arrived from New Orleans off Mobile, and bombarded Fort Powell, but ineffectually. He remained before Mobile.

General Kilpatrick had made a great raid into Virginia, and penetrated to the outer suburbs of Richmond, after destroying a large portion of the Virginia Central Railroad. He lost 150 men in skirmishes, killed and missing, including three colonels, one of whom is the son of the celebrated Admiral Dahlgren.

It was reported from Washington that the real object of the campaign in the South-west had been the overthrow of General Johnston's army; that the demonstrations of Grierson, Sherman, and Farragut were feints to induce a division of Johnston's army for

the support of the points they threatened, and that the advance by General Thomas towards Dalton was made with 35,000 troops, which was intended to be followed by that of his whole force. The vigilance of the Confederates frustrated the Federal plan. Thomas's loss was estimated at 1000 killed and wounded.

Congressional.—In the Senate Mr. Sumner, from the Committee on Slavery and Freedmen, had reported a Bill providing that the Proclamation of Emancipation issued by the President of the United States Jan. 1, 1863, so far as the same declares that the slaves in certain designated States and parts of States, thenceforward shall be free, is hereby adopted and enacted as a Statute of the United States, and as a rule and article for the government of the military and naval forces thereof. Mr. Sumner had also presented from the same Committee a long report on the Fugitive Slave Law, accompanied by a Bill repealing all laws for the rendition of fugitive slaves to their masters. On the previous day, Mr. Wilson, from the Military Committee, presented a Bill, or resolution, affirming:

"That any person born and residing in the United States, whether bond or free, owes his allegiance to the United States, and this allegiance is paramount to any duty which such person may owe to any State or individual: that the Constitution of the United States does not recognise slaves as property, but as persons owing service or labour in certain States under the laws thereof, and it is the right and duty of the United States to offer such persons such inducements as are best calculated to enable them to give to their country the paramount allegiance which they owe, and that the Proclamation of Emancipation issued by the President of the United States on the first day of January 1863 was a measure necessary for the common defence, sanctioned by the spirit of the Constitution and by the law and practice of nations, and said Proclamation is hereby declared to have the force and effect of law, any thing in the Laws or Constitution of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Mr. Clark, of N. H., introduced a Bill ratifying and re-affirming the President's Proclamation of January 21st, 1863, and giving it the force of a statute. Referred to the Slavery and Freedmen's Committee.

Mr. Munroe, of Mo., submitted an amendment to the Enlistment Bill, confirming the Emancipation Proclamation abolishing Slavery throughout the country, and subjecting the coloured men to enrolment and draft.

Mr. Sumner's resolution relative to ejection of negroes from the cars in Washington was adopted.

Mr. Trumbull, from the Judiciary Committee, had reported the following joint re-

solution as a substitute for one lately introduced by Mr. Henderson, of Mo.:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the said Constitution, namely:

Article 13, Section 1. Neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this Act by appropriate legislation.

In the House of Representatives a resolution was adopted by a majority of sixteen—yeas 78, nays 62—declaring that "the Constitution of the United States should be so amended as to abolish Slavery in the United States wherever it now exists, and to prohibit its extension in any part thereof for ever."

The House had also passed the Enrolment Bill—yeas 93, nays 60. It contains the following provision, adopted by a vote of 84 to 67:

"All able-bodied male persons of African descent, between the ages of twenty and forty-five years, whether citizens or not, resident in the United States, shall be enrolled according to the provisions of the Act to which this is a supplement, and form part of the national forces; and when a slave of a loyal citizen shall be drafted and mustered into the service of the United States, his master shall have a certificate thereof. The bounty of 100 dollars, now payable by law for each drafted man, shall be paid to the person to whom such drafted person owes service or labour at the time of his muster into the service of the United States, on freeing the person. The Secretary of War shall appoint a Commission in each of the Slave States represented in Congress, charged to award a just compensation, not exceeding 300 dollars, to each loyal person to whom the coloured volunteer may owe service, who may volunteer into the service of the United States, payable out of the commutation money, upon the master freeing the slave."

Miscellaneous.—A document, lately published in the Congressional proceedings, gives an alphabetical list of vessels captured by Confederate privateers, reported up to Jan. 30, 1864. This list gives as the total number of vessels captured 193; total tonnage, 89,704; value of vessels, at 50 dols. per

ton, 4,485,200 dols.; value of cargo, at 100 dols. per ton, 8,970,400 dols.; total value, 13,455,600 dols. Of the vessels thus captured, thirty-five were from New York, and their tonnage was 19,361, which, at the estimated value in the table, amounted to 968,050 dols.; the cargo to 1,936,100 dols. Twenty-three of the captured vessels cleared for New York, the tonnage of which amounted to 12,312, worth 615,600 dols.; the cargo, 1,231,200 dols. Thus, in tonnage to and from New York there has been a loss of 1,583,650 dols.; in cargo, of 3,167,300 dols., shewing a total loss of 3,755,650 dols., caused by the few vessels of the Confederate navy.

Secretary Chase has written a letter urging that his name should not be considered in connection with the Presidency. Fremont's friends are more active in advocating his claim for the same office.

Michael Hahn was inaugurated as Governor of Louisiana on the 4th ult. In his inaugural address he spoke of Slavery as the cause of the present attempt to break up the Government, and regarded its universal and immediate extinction as a public and private blessing.

The following report of the Committee on Emancipation had been passed by the Constitutional Convention in Alexandria (Virginia). There was but one dissenting vote to the report. One hundred guns were fired in honour of the event.

Mr. Watson, in behalf of the chairman of the Committee on Emancipation and Education, submitted the following report:

"Your Committee on Emancipation beg leave to report, as a part of the Constitution of Virginia, to be inserted in the same, under the caption of Slavery or Freedom,

"First. Slavery and involuntary servitude, except for crime, is hereby abolished and prohibited in the State for ever.

"Second. Courts of competent jurisdiction may apprentice minors of African descent on like conditions provided by law for apprenticing white children.

"Third. The General Assembly shall make no laws establishing Slavery, or recognising property in human beings."

The election in Louisiana had gone overwhelmingly for the Free-State candidates. Only 5200 votes were required by Mr. Lincoln's proclamation: 11,000 were cast. In the election of 1860, before the rebellion, the entire vote of the State was 30,000, and in the precincts where the polls were opened this year the aggregate was very little larger than it was in the election just transpired.

In New Hampshire, Governor Gilmore, the Republican candidate, obtained a majority of above 5000.

Details of the election at New Orleans state that the Free-State ticket had been

successful by an overwhelming and unexpectedly large vote, and the election passed off quietly. The vote was nearly three-tenths as large as at the last Presidential election, while only one-tenth was required to carry the State back into the Union under the Federal regulations.

A Convention of loyal citizens of Western Tennessee, held at Memphis, had unanimously adopted resolutions in favour of immediate measures to organize the State Government on the basis of loyalty to the Union and the Constitution; of such changes in the State constitution as shall make rebellion and secession impossible hereafter; and of making the State Government Republican in fact as well as in name, by guaranteeing the natural and inherent rights of all persons, and prohibiting Slavery; and requesting Governor Johnson to issue a proclamation for an election for a convention to amend the State Constitution, so as to conform to the fact of the emancipation already accomplished by the rebellion and the war.

The Convention of friends of freedom from the Slave States, which had met at Louisville, Ky., on the 22nd February, and adjourned on the 24th, had adopted resolutions declaring that Slavery was the cause of the rebellion; that peace cannot be obtained until the principles of freedom announced in the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution are carried into practice; that it is proper that the Constitution should be amended so as to secure freedom to every human being within its jurisdiction; that the President, during a rebellion, has authority, in the exercise of the war power, to free all the slaves in the rebellious districts, and ought, in the present rebellion, to exercise this power to its full extent; objecting to the President's amnesty proclamation, the effect of which they think injurious, and urging its recall or suspension until the rebellion is crushed; providing for a permanent Executive Committee to represent the Convention; and in favour of a change in the United-States' Constitution, to make the President eligible only for one term.

Mr. George Thompson's arrival in the United States had given the signal for a series of public ovations in his honour, of which he may feel justly proud. Enormous gatherings have taken place in New York, at the Cooper's Institute, Major-General Fremont in the chair; at Brooklyn, in the Rev. H. W. Beecher's church; in the Music Hall, Boston, Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, in the chair; and everywhere his reception had been most enthusiastic. He had received an invitation from the Executive of the Washington Lecture Association, to lecture in Washington, and the invitation had been signed by the following members of the Senate and of the House: H. Hamlin,

Charles Sumner, H. Wilson, Jas. Harlan, Wm. Sprague, Alex. Ramsey, John Conness, Tim. O. Howe, M. S. Wilkinson, L. F. S. Foster, Dan'l Clark, J. W. Grimes, E. D. Morgan, James Dixon, Z. Chandler, H. S. Lane, Ind.; S. C. Pomeroy, Kansas; J. H. Lane, Kansas; W. P. Fessenden, Solomon Foot, H. B. Anthony, Jno. C. Ten Eyck, John Sherman, B. F. Wade, John B. Alley, Geo. W. Julian, Thaddeus Stevens, I. S. Morrill, Robt. C. Schenck, Henry T. Blow, Wm. D. Kelley, Wm. B. Allison, J. W. Patterson, A. Myers, P. Baxter, Oakes Ames, S. H. Boyd, T. B. Shannon, C. Cole, Wm. Windom, J. M. Ashley, J. W. Arnold, Wm. G. Browne, Jno. F. Farnsworth, J. B. Grinnell, W. Higby. The letter is couched in the most flattering terms. Mr. Thompson is at this time unquestionably the most popular man in the United States.

The Directors of the Fourth Avenue Railroad in New York have abolished the rule, so long in force, prohibiting coloured people from riding in their cars.

A brig, with 700 slaves on board, had been captured on the 9th off North Side, Cuba.

William Shreve Bailey, who some few years ago established at Newport (Kentucky) an anti-slavery paper, called the *Free South*, and whose establishment was destroyed, and himself persecuted, was in Boston, with a good prospect of raising a sufficient sum to enable him to set his journal on foot once more.

WEST INDIES.—Jamaica.—A collision had occurred between Lieutenant-Governor Eyre and the Assembly, on the subject of the refusal of the former to lay before the latter a correspondence between himself, the Colonial Secretary, and the late Agent-General of Immigration, whom the Lieutenant-Governor had suspended from office; a course of which the Duke of Newcastle had approved. The whole matter had been referred to a Special Committee, the question raised being one of alleged interference with legislative rights and privileges. The Assembly had addressed to the Queen a petition of complaint against the Lieutenant-Governor, for mal-administration of the affairs of the colony.

The Baptist Jubilee had been held at Montego Bay on the 23rd February; the fiftieth anniversary of the landing there of the Rev. John Rowe, the first Missionary from England. It is calculated that during the four days' services in the large Baptist Chapel, the School-house, and the Presbyterian Chapel, as many as 10,000 persons from different parts of the island congregated in these localities. Not a single "police case" resulted from this mammoth demonstration. The Treasurer's balance-sheet shewed a sum of 1466*l.*, collected from the congregations,

"on account of Home and Foreign Missions, being in advance of the previous year's contributions." The reports shew the number of churches to be 67, with 20,676 members, and 2312 inquirers.

Progress is being made with the cultivation of cotton in all parts of the island. A large quantity of seed has been distributed in the several parishes, and the price of the article is now regularly quoted. Fourpence in the seed, and 1*s.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* picked, are being paid for any quantity, by way of encouragement to the small settlers.

The Managing Committee of the Kingston Cotton Company had issued their second quarterly report. The second call had been fully paid up, and no further demand upon the shareholders was to be made for the present.

Barbados.—The Barbados planters had agreed to a Memorial to the Queen, praying for a reduction of the sugar duties, or a differential duty in favour of free-labour sugar, until the slave-trade to Cuba is suppressed.

British Guiana.—The Court of Policy had adopted certain resolutions relating to the settlement of liberated Africans, on the completion of their term of indenture, which has been extended from three years to five. It had also decided that the rate of wages should be the same as that paid on estates to unindentured labourers.

With reference to articles which have appeared in the *Times* and the *Daily News*, on the subject of alleged ill-treatment of Chinese Coolies, engaged on estates, the *Royal Gazette* says: "Slavery in disguise is an emanation from Exeter Hall, which cannot stand the test of truth; and so far from attempting to blink the truth, or to avoid investigation, we would be glad, for the sake of the colony, if all the members of the so-called *Anti-Slavery Society*, with Mr. Chamberovzow at their head, would visit the colony, and institute a rigid inquiry into the management of immigration matters and the condition of the immigrants. The truth, and the whole truth, is all that we ask for to remove prejudice and satisfy the people of England that any clamour which may be raised about the ill-treatment of immigrants in this colony is 'the baseless fabric of a vision.'"

St. Vincent.—In reply to the Lieutenant-Governor's speech, on opening the Legislature, in which reference is made for the consolidation of the two branches into one Legislative Assembly, the House of Assembly presented an Address, in which it is stated that the House will be prepared to consider any measure which may be brought before it, in substitution for the provisions of the "Council and Committee Act, 1859;" but the consolidation of the two branches into one Legislative Assembly being a question

involving the privileges of another branch of the Legislature, and also materially altering the constitution of the colony, the House does not feel justified, returned as its members have been under an existing Institution, in recording at present any opinion subversive of that Institution, but consider that the voice of the country should be sought on any such momentous change as that suggested by your Excellency as a germ of thought worthy of development.*

It appears by the returns published by order of the Governor of Demerara, that 3192 immigrants, including children, arrived in that colony, during the year ending 31st December 1863. Of these, 373 were captured Africans, sent from St. Helena, 63 were Barbadian labourers, and 396 were Chinese. The remainder were imported from Calcutta. The total number of immigrants introduced from the 1st January 1835 to the 31st December 1863, is as follows:

West-India Islands.....	12,997
Madeira.....	26,824
East Indies.....	47,344
Azores.....	164
Africa.....	12,923
England.....	21
China.....	9,642
Cape de Verde.....	819
Malta.....	208
United States.....	70

111,012

It is stated that several of the immigrants, having completed their terms of service, have engaged in trade, and others have established themselves as agricultural settlers on properties purchased with the money saved during the period of their apprenticeship.

A meeting had been held at the Planters' Hall, on the invitation of the *General Agricultural Society*, for the purpose of considering what steps should be taken to petition the Imperial Legislature on the subject of the sugar duties. Most of the sugar merchants and of the influential planters were present. The question of equalization of duty irrespective of quality was warmly debated, opinion differing widely as to the advantage of such a course on the part of Government. It was finally agreed that a petition should be forwarded to both branches of the Imperial Legislature, praying it to reduce the duties on sugar, and that steps might be taken to enforce the fulfilment of treaties by which the Spanish Government is bound to suppress the slave-trade, so that the ne-
 farious traffic should be at once put down.

rious traffic should be at once put down. The crop last year reached 77,000 hhds., a total beyond any ever recorded in the colony.

St. Domingo.—General Santana had died at San Domingo from wounds received some time since in an engagement with the Dominicans.

Six hundred Spanish prisoners were at Santiago de los Caballeros. The Dominicans possessed the most important cities and ports.

The Dominican General Florentino had attempted to assume the dictatorship of the country: he was, however, opposed, and was slain in an engagement which ensued.

PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Friday, 26th February.)

THE CUBAN SLAVE-TRADE.

On the motion for going into Committee of Supply,

Mr. CAVE rose to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether Her Majesty's Government intended to carry into execution the provisions of the treaty with the United States for the suppression of the slave-trade, by stationing cruisers off the coast of Cuba. Recalling the efforts made by this country thirty years ago for the suppression of the slave-trade in its colonies, he said the most important step since that time was the treaty of 1862 with the United States, by which was ceded the right of search. They had advanced some way into the present year, and the slave-trade documents did not carry them beyond the year 1862. In most important particulars those papers broke off at the most critical moment. They learned from those papers that the slave-trade was brisk on the coast of Cuba. It was impossible to tell the exact number that had been brought in. They might judge of their value, when it was stated that a bribe of 12,000*l.* was given to the Spanish officials for the landing of 490 of them. The vigilance of the Spanish cruisers was diminished in consequence of the sailors having been deprived of their prize-money. The horrors of the middle passage were not diminished, because it appeared that a vessel taken by Her Majesty's ship *Antelope* carried seventeen to the ton. The slave-deck was only thirty inches high, and the vessel did not carry food and water enough for the fifty days' passage from the coast of Africa to Cuba. It appeared that on the 24th of May the head of the Foreign Office communicated to the French Government the treaty just ratified with the United States, and proposed to the French Government to make the same concession as to the right of search. He had looked most anxiously for the reply, but could find none. He found, however, on the 31st of December 1862, a complaint from Earl Russell to Earl Cowley, that a steamer, under French colours, had landed on the coast of Cuba 1000 slaves. A communication was sent to Sir J. Crampton, informing him of the intention to send cruisers to the coast of Cuba, and proposing

* This is the course which should have been taken in the case of Dominica. (Ed. A. S. R.)

that the Spanish Government should give permission to those vessels to anchor on that coast; but there was no answer. That was the position in which they were placed more than a year ago, and what had taken place since. From what he could hear, nothing had been done. A memorial from Jamaica complained of the vigour of the slave-trade at Cuba; and a naval officer at Port Royal stated that the past year was one in which much might have been done to suppress the slave-trade; but though the principal obstacle had been removed by the treaty with the United States, advantage had not been taken of it. The writer said there should be six vessels on the north coast, and six on the south coast of Cuba, if they wished to stop the slave-trade. The price of sugar was rising, and the planters in Cuba would be able to give a higher price for their slaves, and they might be sure that the supply would meet the demand. It was stated that the new Captain-General of Cuba was determined to stop the slave-trade. That might be so; but the same good tidings had reached them about Captain-General after Captain-General for several years past, and the promises had not been borne out by the results. Sir James Hope, who had just gone out as the new admiral on the station, was a man able, from his past experience, to cope with the slave-trade. He (Mr. Cave) hoped that if Sir J. Hope had sufficient force he would take care that the temptations into which the new Captain-General might fall would not be too much for him to resist. They had paid nearly half a million to the Spanish Government on account of the suppression of the slave-trade, but the treaties had been evaded, and the undertaking had never been performed. It was time the people of this country should learn from the Government if they were to have better hopes for the country.

Lord PALMERSTON.—There can be no doubt as to the importance of the subject to which the hon. gentleman has drawn attention, and if one might be allowed to speak of one's own efforts, I should say that there are no two men in the country who have felt more warmly within their limited sphere of action, and have done more for the suppression of the slave-trade, than my noble friend at the head of the Foreign Office and myself. At the same time, when we recollect the great difficulty which was felt in this country in gaining a victory over parties interested in the slave-trade and in abolishing it, we must make some allowance for the reluctance which other Governments manifest, to adopt the course which we have honourably followed. But great progress has been made. When we consider that the Brazilian slave-trade, which amounted to 60,000 or 70,000 slaves a year, and which implied the wretchedness of three times that number, has been extinguished, we may say that a very great and important benefit has been thereby conferred upon the human race. Then there remains the slave-trade of Cuba. That used to be, I believe, an importation of 20,000 or more slaves a year. According to the last account we have every reason to believe that the actual importation in 1863 did not exceed 6000 or 7000. That has been owing in a great degree to the treaty with the United States. The President of the

United States, in the handsomest manner, agreed—indeed, almost proposed—to make a treaty with us for a mutual right of search; and that has been of the most valuable use in the accomplishment of our purpose. I am sorry to say that the Government of France has not thought fit to follow the example of the United States, and that is the more to be regretted, because France took the lead in abolishing Slavery. France, of her own accord, abolished the slave-trade, and for a certain time gave us a treaty for a mutual right of search. But jealousies arose with regard to the national flag, and that treaty was put an end to. We have not been able to obtain a renewal of those engagements. Still France does employ cruisers on the coast of Africa, and I have every reason to hope that the action of the Government of France will be directed vigorously, energetically, and sincerely, to putting an end to the slave-trade. We know that for some time a pretended immigration of free labourers into French colonies obtained—I must hope upon false recommendations—the sanction of the French Government. That immigration was, in fact, the slave-trade. Of course, Slavery being abolished in the French colonies, when these wretched Africans arrived there they were not called slaves. They were apprentices for a certain limited time; but the French Government has put an end to that system, on the condition that we should permit them to have the power of exporting Coolies from our Indian possessions under regulations. I am bound to say, with regard to the present Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Cuba, that he has acted in a most honourable manner, and has exercised the power which he possesses in every case effectually for the suppression of that trade. But the power of the Governor is not complete, and there are laws in Spain which cramp his action in many cases. At his suggestion we have earnestly requested the Government of Madrid to repeal those laws. We have not hitherto succeeded; but I should hope the Spanish Government would feel it due to themselves, and to the honour and good faith of the Spanish Crown, to remove those obstacles, for the accomplishment of those purposes for which the treaty was concluded. We have furnished to the whole of our cruisers on the American station warrants authorising them to exercise the right of search with regard to all those flags with respect to which we are entitled to exercise that right. The hon. member attaches great value to the action of our cruisers on the coast of Cuba. No doubt it is very important that our cruisers should act upon the coast of Cuba, and have warrants given them to examine suspected vessels; and the American flag will very much assist them in the performance of that duty. But the value of captures in different places may be stated in the proportion which I am going to mention. The most important capture to be made is a slave-ship equipped and prepared for the slave-trade on the coast of Africa without any negroes on board. This is most important, because it prevents that misery which is entailed by the embarkation of negroes, and throws them back upon the chief who makes money by selling them. The next is a ship with negroes on board, but on the coast of

Africa, because, by being captured there, they escape the horrors of that middle passage. The third valuable capture is that of a slave-ship with negroes on board off the coast of Cuba, because you rescue the survivors from the doom to which they were destined, and you send them back to the coast of Africa, or, at all events, they escape from the horrors of Slavery. I can assure the hon. member that we are not at all blind to the importance of the points which he has dwelt upon; and Sir James Hope, who is a most active and energetic officer, who has the abolition of Slavery entirely at heart, and who, moreover, has a local knowledge of all these circumstances, will, I am quite sure, under the instructions of the Admiralty, do every thing that a man can do. There is one point at which I think the hon. member hinted, though I did not catch that he actually mentioned it. We applied to the Spanish Government that they should give permission to our cruisers acting on the coast of Cuba to anchor within the territorial limits of the island of Cuba; but I am sorry to say that they have not hitherto agreed to that proposal. It may be that there is a feeling of national jealousy in the matter, or there may, perhaps, be other motives less honourable actuating those persons than those which influence the Government. We shall endeavour to prevail upon them to do so, because no doubt that would be a great assistance to our cruisers, inasmuch as the channels through which these slave-ships pass are known, and are limited in number; and if we should be able to station our cruisers at points commanding those channels it would be of great advantage in the capturing of the slavers concerned. The Spanish Government, as is well known, has been urged over and over again, upon every motive of national good faith and honour, to do all they could for the suppression of the slave-trade. They have always told us that orders of the most stringent character were sent to Cuba, but the difficulties of putting those orders into execution had hitherto foiled the intentions of the Government. I know that the Marquis Miraflores, who not long ago was at the head of the Spanish Government, was most anxious to do every thing that lay in his power to carry the treaty into effect. With regard to the papers connected with the slave-trade, they include representations and correspondence from very distant stations, and some time must elapse before the whole can be placed on the table of the House. Those for the year 1863 are in preparation, and will, I believe, be very shortly laid before Parliament, and I trust they will shew a very considerable diminution in the slave-trade of Cuba.

(Monday, March 14th.)

SLAVE-TRADE ON THE EAST COAST OF AFRICA.

Lord A. CHURCHILL asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government had any recent information as to the slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa, and especially in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar; and whether any and what measures had been adopted to prevent the carrying on of that trade by the Portuguese and Northern Arabs.

Mr. LAYARD said that the information received by the Government with respect to the slave-trade on the eastern coast of Africa was of a very unsatisfactory nature. While on the western coast the slave-trade had greatly diminished, on the eastern it was very much on the increase. Her Majesty's cruisers had done all in their power during the last two or three years, and had captured about 100 vessels with slaves on board; but the circumstances in which they were placed were very difficult. The cruisers were not sufficiently numerous, and since the abolition of the Indian navy there was not the same class of officers acquainted with the coast who were formerly able to put a stop to the slave-traffic. According to information which he had received, between 20,000 and 30,000 slaves were carried off that coast. This was partly the result of the efficacious measures taken by the Turkish Government, which had put an end to the slave-trade on the Egyptian coast, so that the slave-vessels had recourse to the Eastern Coast of Africa. Another cause of the increase of the traffic was the inability of Her Majesty's ships to interfere with the coasting vessels belonging to the Imaum of Muscat. Under the treaty the coasting trade was sacred, and could not be interfered with by Her Majesty's cruisers; and the consequence was that a very large slave-trade was carried on. The Sovereign of Zanzibar had, however, authorized Her Majesty's cruisers to stop vessels at certain times of their ear along the coast of Africa, and that would enable the cruisers to stop a large amount of slave-trade. Other causes of the increase of that trade had been the facilities afforded to Arab vessels for flying the French flag, and the encouragement of the trade, if not a participation in it, on the part of a large number of subordinate Portuguese authorities; though the Portuguese Governor was, no doubt, doing his utmost to put a stop to the traffic. Representations had been made on this subject to the Portuguese Government, and Her Majesty's Government had received assurances over and over again that the traffic should be stopped, but hitherto this had not been done. He had read with feelings of horror the accounts sent by Dr. Livingstone and others of the cruelties resulting from the prevalence of the slave-trade. Her Majesty's Government would not lose sight of the subject.

Original Correspondence.

WEST INDIES.

Grand Quay, Turks' Island,
Jan. 27, 1864.

DEAR SIR,—Your valuable *Reporter* I have duly received. For it accept many thanks.

We have many Dominican refugees resident here, and in great distress. Subscriptions have been made to aid them to the extent of the ability of the people of these islands, who have suffered very much themselves in consequence of the war in America. At the present time, and during the past, the Dominicans have ever been victorious in their conflict with Spanish soldiers:

those soldiers have to be beaten out of the fort at Puerte Plata before they will face the rebels, as they call the Dominicans. It is thought that if Spain could get out of the matter nicely she would be glad to do so. She cannot at present bear the thought of being driven out of St. Domingo by men almost without munitions of war; but it does appear that she must succumb, and that she has thus far been throwing away life and money only to inflict sorrow upon herself and upon the people of that country. But does it not seem fatal to that country to suffer for the infliction of suffering on others. A more ignoble line of conduct it could not have undertaken, neither could it have committed more atrocious cool-blooded murders than it has in connection with Puerte Plata and other places in St. Domingo. Were the civilized nations converted into national police, and to lay hold on such a ruffian nation, and imprison it for ever, universal joy would be the only voice heard, while true Christianity would have room to spread and to bless the nations thus far cursed by its supervision; to bless them with the unity, peace, and love the Saviour would have Christianity establish universally. The cruelty, if any, has been on the side of the Spaniards, not on the side of the Dominicans. The former have done deeds of cruel murder, in connection with their efforts to take the country from the people, which are sufficient to stamp with everlasting disgrace and contempt the Spanish name and crown. Cowardice, treachery, and all which is unmanly and unchristian, has marked the conduct of Spain in its transactions in St. Domingo. Looking at the spirit always displayed by Spain, one can only think God Himself has given forth the decided decree, "Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation at this?" The bones of their soldiers, bleaching on the plains of St. Domingo, and unable to stand their ground before the Dominicans, seems to say God is revenging Spain's injustice, and holding her up to the contempt of the civilized world.

Enclosed is a draft for the amount raised by our people amid various claims and deep poverty.

Praying the Lord to crown all your benevolent efforts with his benediction.

WHAT THE REBELLION IS DOING.

WE continue our record of extracts from the valuable broad-sheets of the *New-England Loyal Publication Society*.

(Extract from the Hon. F. W. Gantt's speech, continued from our last, p. 59.)

"THE SITUATION—THE REMEDY.

"I hesitated long, my fellow-citizens, to issue this address. I dislike to be abused and slandered. But, more than all, dislike to live under

a cloud with those friends who have not reached my stand-point. And besides, all I possess is in the Confederate lines. Their leaders will deprive my family of slaves, home, property—debts due me—in a word, reduce them from competence and ease to penury. Aside from that what I have inside the Confederate lines, I could not pay for the paper this address is written upon. But it may all go. To me the path of duty is plain. It is to lend my feeble aid to stop this useless effusion of blood. And though it beggar my family, and leave me no ray of hope for the future, I shall follow it.

"I have witnessed the desolation of the Southern States from one end to the other. This hopeless struggle widens it. Each day makes new graves, new orphans, and new mourners. Each hour flings into this dreadful whirlpool more of wrecked hopes, broken fortunes, and anguished hearts. The rich have mostly fallen. The poor have drunk deep of the cup of sorrow, while surely, and not slowly, the tide of ruin, in its resistless surge, sweeps towards the middle classes. A few more campaigns and they will form a part of the general wreck. Each grave and each tear, each wasted fortune and broken heart, puts us that much further off from the object of the struggle, and that much further off from peace and happiness.

"I have chosen the latter. I shall send this address to every hill and corner of the State, to the citizens and soldiers at home or in prison, and shall send with it my prayer to Almighty God to arrest them in their pathway of blood and ruin. Why trust Davis longer? Had he twice our present resources he would still fail. With success he would be a despot. But the whole thing is tumbling to pieces. Soldiers are leaving disgusted and disheartened; and whole States have gone back to their home in the national galaxy. Maryland and Delaware will never again be shaken. Kentucky has entrenched herself in the Union behind a wall of bayonets of her own sturdy sons. Missouri is as firmly set in the national galaxy as Massachusetts. Tennessee, tempest-tossed and bolt-driven, under the guidance of her great pilot steers for her old mooring, and will be safely anchored before the leaves fall; while the rays of light from the old North State, flashing out fully from the darkness across the troubled waves, shew that she stirs—is not lost, but is struggling to rejoin her sisters. None of these States will ever join the South again. Then, with crippled armies—with devastated fields—with desolate cities—with disheartened soldiers, and, worse than all, with weak and corrupt leaders, what hope is left to the few remaining States, but especially to poor and down-trodden Arkansas? None! Better get our brothers home while they are left to us. Open the way for the return of husbands, fathers and sons, and bind up the broken links of the old Union. The people must act to do this. I tell you now, in grief and pain, that the leaders do not care for your blood. Your sufferings move them not. The tears and wails of your anguished and bereaved ones falls on hearts of flint.

"The shortest way, in my opinion, to resume our relations with the Federal Government, is

to instruct Hon. W. K. Sebastian to take his seat in the United-States' Senate. It is by all means desirable that such instructions be so clear that the United-States' Government may be at no loss to see that our people are loyal, and that Mr. Sebastian may have but one course of conduct left. I feel sure that he will respond favourably to your wishes.

"Whenever it can be done, meetings should be held promptly, instructing him to resume his seat in the Senate. Where it cannot be done, or where citizens cannot attend meetings, let them get up petitions to that effect. The proceedings of such meetings, and the petitions, if sent to me at this place, will receive prompt attention. We should do all this before the meeting of Congress in December. We will have trade open, and get the benefits of a Government that much sooner.

"To those who differed from me in the commencement of this rebellion—the extent and bloodiness of which no one could foresee—I must say, that developments shew that you were right and I wrong. But let by-gones be forgotten, and let us all unite to bring about peace, and to lure our past Pleide from her wanderings, that she may again sparkle in our national coronet of stars!

"Your fellow-citizen,

"E. W. GANTT,

"Little Rock, Oct. 7, 1863."

"THE FRUITS OF FREE LABOUR.

"Beaufort, S. C., Dec. 23, 1863.

"ALPHEUS HARDY, Treasurer.—DEAR SIR,—Enclosed please find my draft for 100 dollars for the relief of the families of freedmen, in response to your circular. Please state to your Committee, and to any other gentlemen interested in the question of free-labour, that I have disbursed the sum of 200,000 dollars, during the past nine months, among the freedmen here, in the shape of wages, well earned, besides which they have now on hand ample provision to feed their families for twelve months to come, the fruit of their own toil.

"I employ about 500 labourers—women and children mostly—having a population of 950 on my lands. They have raised for me 73,000 lbs. of clean Sea-Island cotton this year, worth 50d. sterling in Liverpool, beside their own provision crops, above referred to. This has been done within hearing of General Gilmore's big guns on Morris Island, surrounded by camps, with no civil law, and without the help of the able-bodied men, who were all pressed into the military service, leaving the plantations with none but old men, women, and children. I have no paupers, all the old and infirm being fed and clothed by their friends and children.

"I mention these things to shew how easy it is to render the negroes a self-supporting and wealth-producing class, with proper management; and I, at the same time, fully appreciate the duty imposed upon us as a nation, to extend the area of charity, where the unsettled state of the country renders industry impossible, until time is given to reorganize and force to protect it. We are more fortunately situated than the

people of the Mississippi valley, and have got the start of them.

"Respectfully yours,

—*Boston Transcript.* "E. S. PHILBRICK."

"THE FREE CONSTITUTION OF ARKANSAS.

"The State Convention of Arkansas, after a session of nearly three weeks, held at Little Rock, has completed a new State Constitution, which is published in full in the *Little-Rock Unconditional Union*, together with an address to the people of Arkansas. The address states that the Constitution is to be submitted to the voters on the second Monday of March next, the 10th; that it is simply the old Constitution with some few amendments; that Slavery is for ever prohibited, as peace made on any other plan would be of short duration. Twenty-two counties were present at the opening of the Convention, and six others had held elections. The Convention rely for authority for the instrument they have prepared, not upon its authors, but upon the votes of loyal citizens.

"The following is the article bearing upon the Slavery question, the only portion of the Constitution in which the old instrument is very materially departed from:

"Article V.—Abolition of Slavery.

"Section 1. Neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter exist in this State, otherwise than for the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been convicted by due process of law; nor shall any person, arrived at the age of twenty-one years nor female at the age of eighteen years, be held to serve any person as a servant under indenture or contract made, unless such person shall enter into such indenture or contract while in a state of perfect freedom, and on condition of a *bonâ fide* consideration received, or to be received for their services.

"Nor shall any indenture of any negro or mulatto hereafter made and executed out of this State, or if made in this State, where the terms of service exceeds one year, be of the least validity, except those given in cases of apprenticeship, which shall not be for a longer period than until the apprentice shall arrive at the age of twenty-one years if a male, or the age of eighteen years if a female."

"THE REWARDS OF LOYALTY.

"The treasury of Maryland is in excellent condition, according to the recent report of Comptroller Maffit. The State has, during the year, redeemed 322,645 dollars worth of its stock; has paid out 19,053 dollars for foreign exchange, to pay the interest on part of the public debt held abroad; has now a balance in the treasury amounting to 1,030,527 dollars, 138,543 dollars to the credit of the sinking fund, and 36,968 dollars to the credit of the school fund. During the past year 270,624 dollars was invested in the purchase of State stock for the sinking fund; and there has been a decrease in the expenditures as compared with the previous years.

"These are the beneficent fruits of Maryland's faithfulness to the Union. Suppose her hot-heads and traitors had been able to draw

her, as they tried so hard to do, into rebellion? Does any citizen of the State, reading the comfortable report of the Comptroller, believe that, in such a case, the account would have stood as it does? Has Virginia a balance in her treasury? Does Alabama pay the interest on her debt held abroad? Has South Carolina added to her school-fund? or Georgia to her sinking fund? Have the State expenses been less this year in any State in the power of the rebels?

“THE FACTS.

“That Slavery is on its very last legs in Maryland we presume no one will deny. The slaveholders give it up, finding the attempt to retain and profit by their chattels, under existing circumstances, a losing business. Slavery in Maryland has long enough been exhausting her soil, retarding her progress, diminishing her population; but all this availed nothing. But at length it has become a burden to the slaveholders, and they will make short work with it. It can hardly outlast the current year.

“When it dies, Slavery in Delaware will be a tree without roots. It must speedily vanish or be summarily cast out.

“West Virginia has substantially freed herself from the scourge. She had but a few thousands of slaves in 1860: she has practically none now. This good riddance she owes to the rebellion and the civil war.

“The loyal portions of Old Virginia are, practically, slaveless. The President exempted most of them from the purview of his proclamation of freedom; but the God of Justice has issued one which covers a far larger area, and deals with it most efficiently. The loyal legislature of Old Virginia has called a Convention to sweep Slavery from the State. This is the work of her own loyal people: the Government takes no part in it. There is no doubt that the Convention soon to assemble will finish up the work.

“Missouri is still contested by two zealous parties, each professedly for emancipation. One is earnestly for it at the earliest day; the other would give ‘the institution’ a few years grace; but nobody thinks of its outlasting the next ten years.

“Arkansas has renounced ‘the devil and all his works,’ and is back into the Union a loyal Free State. She came heartily, having had quite enough of Secession and Slavery.

“Tennessee will very soon be re-organized as a Free State, under the Proclamation of Amnesty. She is fully ready, and, with a third of her voters of 1860 either dead or absent, she will poll a very considerable vote, far more than the tenth required; and it will all be for making her a Free State.

“Louisiana is getting ready for peace and reunion on a free basis at an election hardly a month off. Mean time, Slavery is confessedly repudiated by her Unionists.

“In a good part of Mississippi, as on the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia, Slavery has been quietly replaced by free-labour, to the advantage and satisfaction of all concerned; and the new system is constantly gaining ground.—*New-York Tribune, Jan. 21.*

“RAPID PROGRESS OF EMANCIPATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES OF AMERICA, AND SUFFERINGS OF THE NEGROES DURING THE TRANSITION FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM.

“It is estimated that about a million of American slaves have already gained their freedom by the progress of the war, and the difficulty of providing for this immense multitude before employment could be found to enable them to maintain themselves, has been very embarrassing to their Northern liberators. From evidence derived from reliable sources, it appears that about 4000 of these poor people actually perished from the want of food, clothing, or shelter, during the past year. As large accessions are continually made to their numbers, it is feared that unless speedy relief can be extended, this state of suffering and consequent mortality will continue, and possibly may become still more appalling. The generous aid afforded by the Americans to our countrymen in Lancashire, and also to the Irish during the potato famine, appears to point out our duty in the present crisis, and may well incite us to reciprocate these good offices in a manner worthy of the great occasion. Various donations, both in money and clothing, have already been forwarded from this country, and it is expected that all packages, properly addressed and consigned, will be conveyed without charge, across the ocean, and allowed to pass free of duty by the American Government.

“The following extracts from various papers and documents will at once shew the interesting nature of the crisis, and the pressing character of the appeal for aid:

“*Minute by Dr. BACON, at a Meeting of the American Board of Foreign Missions, Oct. 1863.*

“Without offering or implying any opinion on questions of constitutional right or of military necessity, we do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice, in the certain overthrow of that hideous injustice which has been the great opprobrium of our nation, the great demoralizing influence in our Government, and the great obstacle in the way of all Christian enterprises and institutions, and which, by converting millions of human beings into the material of a horrible traffic, and by the persistent denial of all human rights to millions of souls for whom Christ died, has made this purifying of our land with fire a divine necessity.”

“*Letter of Mr. BEALS, from Portsmouth, Virginia, October 17, 1863.*

“The work itself becomes greater every day; but it pains me that there is and must be so much suffering. Every piece of clothing is distributed almost as soon as it arrives. Since my wife came, we have been up till late almost every night, supplying the destitute multitude. Let the good people calculate how many barrels it would take to clothe 2000 destitute, half-naked creatures, and they would fall short of the actual want of Portsmouth alone.”

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 1864.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR Subscribers are solicited to take notice that their Subscriptions to the Anti-Slavery Society's Funds, and to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, fall due on the 1st of January every year. They are respectfully requested to forward the amounts due, by Post-office Order, payable to L. A. Chamerovzow, at the Post-office, Moorgate Street, E.C., London.

Subscribers to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* who desire to receive their copies stamped, are asked to intimate their wish, in order that the publisher may regulate his order for stamps accordingly. The neglect of this precaution exposes the publisher to a loss of stamps, which it is his desire to avoid in future.

OUR ANNUAL MEETING.

WE beg to announce that the Annual Meeting of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* will be held on Friday, the 20th of May next, at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, E.C. The Chair will be taken at noon precisely.

Further particulars will be duly advertised.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

IN another column will be found a summary of certain conversations in the House of Commons relating to the slave-trade. Viscount Palmerston asserts that it has greatly diminished this last year in consequence of the efforts of the new Captain-General, and promises that the proofs, in the form of the yearly Slave-trade Papers, shall be soon forthcoming. We doubt not that his lordship has good official evidence of the diminution of the traffic to Cuba; but this evidence is practically of little value, for Mr. Crawford himself admits that the official returns of slaves landed bear no reliable proportion to the real numbers imported. Then we find the Prime Minister stating apologetically for the Spanish Government, that the Captain-General has not the necessary powers to stop the importations, and this in the very teeth of the often-repeated assurances of Mr. Crawford, that that officer does possess them, if he only choose to exercise them. Lord Palmerston adds that the British Government has asked the Cabinet of Madrid to give the Captain-General of Cuba the necessary powers, and that it is hoped it will comply with this request.

We submit that no admissions could possibly be more unfortunate than these, on the

part of so eminent an authority; and they are the more discouraging because they are at variance with his previous and most recent utterances on this same subject. We can account for the inconsistency, only on the supposition, that even so experienced a diplomatist as his lordship is, finds it embarrassing to afford any explanation of the flagrant breach of faith on the part of Spain with respect to her slave-trade treaties, and in his endeavours to do so, becomes involved in contradiction. It has yet to be ascertained whether the Government is likely to adopt the suggestion thrown out in the Memorial of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, for joint diplomatic action against Spain by Great Britain, the United States, and the chief of the European Powers.

His lordship's excuse for the non-delivery of the Slave-trade Papers to the 30th of Sept. 1863 is also very weak; and we are surprised that Mr. Cave did not point out, in reply, that there is no place from which despatches on the slave-trade are received which is not within two months' distance of this country, so that there is no practical difficulty—save such as red-tapeism creates—in producing the Slave-trade Papers on the opening of the parliamentary session, or, at any rate, immediately after the Easter vacation, nor any reason why the dates should not, in the latter case, be brought down to the 31st of December every year.

Mr. Layard's remarks on the amount of slave-trade on the East Coast will have to be judged by the official despatches. That it is carried on to a deplorable extent there is no doubt; but if it has increased since the year 1861-62, the fault must lie with the Government. Until the Slave-trade Papers are issued we can say nothing more.

MISGOVERNMENT OF THE WEST-INDIA COLONIES.

Few persons, interested in the permanent prosperity of our West-India Colonies, who watch the course towards them of the Colonial Minister for the time being, can fail to be struck with the radical defect that characterizes the system under which their affairs are administered. Individually, no one Colonial Secretary is to blame. All of these officials are, in a measure, compelled to follow in the same track. Deviations from it there will occasionally be; but the side-path is certain to lead back into the old worn-out road of no-system and routine. No principle underlies the fabric of Government. A sort of higgledy-piggledy rule obtains, resulting in confusion, retrogression, and dead-locks. While it is admitted on all hands that without plan no enterprise can succeed, colonial government—especially that of our West-

India Colonies—is carried on quite capriciously, and no attempt appears to be made to reduce the elements of disorder into any thing like harmony. It must be assumed, without reservations of any kind, that the Colonial Secretary, for the time being, is earnestly desirous of discharging the duties of his office honestly and efficiently. But we would ask, as illustrating our present argument, how far a Colonial Minister of Protectionist principles, to wit, is likely to carry out the policy of his Free-trader predecessor, or *vice versa*. Is it probable that an eminent member of one party will be hearty in prosecuting the views of a predecessor whom he has opposed during, perhaps, the whole of his political existence? Under such circumstances, how can any general well-defined plan of colonial government be laid down, which shall be unaffected by party considerations, and of which the only basis shall be the permanent well-being of the colonies. We admit the impracticability of establishing a system of colonial government applicable, in all its details, to all the West-India colonies alike; but there might, and ought to be, some general principle laid down for the administration of their affairs which no party influences should disturb.

We are glad to perceive that this very grave question is being discussed, not only at home, but in the colonies themselves; and we append, from the Jamaica *Morning Journal* of the 24th February last, extracts from an ably-written article, which goes to the root of the matter, and which has our hearty concurrence.

"What is the standard of ability by which colonial governors are selected? Are they men of ability, judgment, temper, and prudence to fit them for the peculiar and difficult task of ruling men of different classes and different interests? Are they men competent to deal with the opposing elements of which small communities, in all parts of the world, are generally composed? Have they the capacity to penetrate the secrets of contending differences, and adopt measures to reconcile them—to soften the asperities of party, and employ the talents which are distributed amongst adverse parties, for the regeneration and advancement of the countries over which they are set to rule? Let the reader but reflect upon the condition of the West Indies, and he will agree with us that the most advancing of them have not advanced equal to their facilities, whilst others of them are positively retrograding. Ask the cause, and we answer, the want of ability in the men sent from England to govern them, coupled with the narrow and unwise policy maintained at the Colonial Office.

"Within the last hundred years the class of men selected for the Colonial Office has three times required modification: twice the official

mind has refused to perceive the necessity, and twice the refusal has brought us to or over the verge of a great catastrophe. . . .

"Colonial Governors now-a-days are, for the most part, men of neither education, influence, nor the ordinary power of mind to qualify them to rule men of enlightenment. Both they and the Colonial Secretary appear to mistake the condition of the people forming the Colonies of Great Britain—the West Indies particularly. They seem to regard us not as civilized men having the advantage of a fair amount of education, and with many men of learning among us; that we are a people with a love of liberty, an eagerness for free institutions, not second to our fellow-subjects of the mother country: they seem to regard us as savage hordes who are to be ruled not by ability, temper, and discretion, but by a strong will and an iron hand. . . .

"Colonial Governors may now be the merest schoolboys. They are only required to carry out the behests of the Colonial Secretary, and so long as they do that with a blind pertinacity, they are accepted by their chief as having discharged their duty decently, and receive their reward accordingly. Against this pernicious principle the colonies have yet to wage war, and it is to be set down to the credit of Jamaica that she has taken the lead. It is impossible for a gentleman five thousand miles away from the Colony, utterly ignorant of its local wants and circumstances to be able to regulate a Government like this, and decide what is good and what is not good for us. However well informed that gentleman may be, however good his intentions, he must of necessity err; and whilst it is reasonable that human errors should be forgiven, still, when they are reduced to a system, those whom they affect are not called upon to submit tamely to them."

Proceeding downwards in the scale, what is to be said of Lieutenant-Governors, and of the administration of justice? On these points we are addressed by a gentleman of considerable West-India experience in an official capacity, and we may let him speak:

"The men usually selected for Lieutenant-Governors are unfitted for their position, and this because they are wholly ignorant of the laws, and therefore are dependent on the Attorney-General; their rank is not sufficient to command respect from the labouring population; and their whole aim being to stand well at the Colonial Office, (which means to give as little trouble as possible,) they carefully avoid proposing any measure calculated to benefit the colony.

"Another great evil is their constant removal. St. Vincent has had *nineteen* rulers in *twenty* years.

"In my humble opinion, this officer ought to remain at least five or six years in one colony. His promotion should be dependent on the

wisdom of his rule, and he ought to be held responsible to the Legislature of the colony for his public acts, that is to say, a vote of want of confidence ought to remove him.

"The constitution of the Courts is very imperfect.

"The Equity Court is presided over by the Lieutenant-Governor: he is liable to be appealed to on questions of law involving the liberty of the subject, and in which he can have no assistance, except from the Attorney-General, who is usually counsel in the case: this frequently involves a denial of justice.

"I can refer to several cases in my own experience where persons have been imprisoned, and seriously prejudiced from this cause.

"The Supreme Court is also very defective in its constitution. It is composed of one Chief—a professional man—and three Puisne Judges—planters or merchants, in fact, anybody they can get. They are responsible to no one. The planters may and do overrule the Chief: in most cases there is no appeal, and where there is, it is a farce. If the Chief Judge be absent, the Court is under the dominion of the Attorney-General, who is bound to obey the Governor. No prosecution is allowed without the sanction of the Attorney-General, who is paid by the colony as prosecuting officer; and therefore, if the Governor (as in a case which I can testify to) orders the Attorney-General not to prosecute, there is no relief; and again a complete denial of justice. The remedy for this is, in my opinion, a properly-constituted circuit of judges, with a circuit bar, which might be organized and carried out at a cost very little in excess of the present system.

"3rd. The evil, however, which more closely affects the labouring population, and is productive of the riots which have taken place from time to time, is the want of an efficient magistracy.

"These gentlemen, as a general rule, are either young men who have come out as private secretaries to governors, or worn-out planters or merchants, in other words, storekeepers. They have had no training for the office, are very dependent, fearful of offending the planters and those in authority. Their decisions are therefore most uncertain, and they consequently do not command respect. If a difficulty arises—such as a question of wages—they are afraid to grapple with it, lose their independence by applications to the Governor, and, as will at once be seen, his improper interference with the magistrates' duties destroys all confidence in the magistracy.

"The remedy for this state of things, I think, is to be found in a better class of men—better paid—with an order from the Colonial Minister that no magistrates' decisions—I do not speak of conduct—are to be questioned except in a Court of Law. This, with a proper Appeal Court, would

speedily provide an efficient magistracy, and the chances of riot would be much diminished, if not prevented.

"I am enabled to speak with some little authority on the subject, having acted as a stipendiary magistrate during a period of great excitement and threatened rioting in St. Vincent; but I can with the greatest confidence say that it would be impossible to meet with people more easily pacified or more amenable to reason. The means employed by me were, an endeavour to gain confidence by impartial decisions based upon the law, a determination to allow no interference by any one but a Court of Law, and the exercise of a little courage.

"I was subjected to numerous complaints to the Governor from the planters, but no appeal; but the Governor never received a single complaint from a labourer."

We assert that the permanent welfare of the people of the West-India colonies, from which that of the colonies themselves is inseparable, is materially affected by this question of irregular administration, and we hope to see the West-India press take it up vigorously, and to find the leading minds of those colonies vigorously occupied in devising the means of a change in the right direction.

MISERIES OF COOLIE IMMIGRATION.

WHENEVER the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have directed attention to the abuses of the present system of Coolie immigration they have been accused of dealing in exaggerated, even in untrue statements, and their opposition to it has been denounced as one-sided, prejudiced, and malicious. Experience, however, daily brings to light facts which tend to prove that the Committee have understated rather than over-stated their case; and in so far as Jamaica is concerned, the island papers now admit the failure of the last Immigration Act, which the Committee endeavoured to induce the Colonial Minister of the day not to sanction. In spite, nevertheless, of previous warnings, and in the teeth of much actual misery which has been entailed upon the Coolies, the Legislature of Jamaica appears determined to continue in the same course of ruinous expense.

Three bills were before the Assembly on the subject of immigration: one, to increase the salary of the Agent-General to 500*l.*; another, to authorise the raising of a loan to the extent of 50,000*l.*, redeemable in thirty years; and the third, "to promote the increase of the labouring population by means of free immigration and colonization.

The Governor is to sanction the annual introduction of 2000 immigrants from the States of North America, Canada, and the

British West-India Colonies. He is to appoint agents to proceed to the places whence emigration may be sanctioned; and each agent is to give security for the faithful performance of his duties. Every agent is to be paid such remuneration as the Governor and Executive Committee shall fix; allowances are to be made to him for his passage and travelling expenses to the port or place to which he shall be sent; and he is to ascertain whether the persons desiring to emigrate are in good health, and not incapacitated for labour by old age or mental or bodily infirmities or disease. They must also have been industriously employed as agricultural labourers, artisans, or mechanics; and they are to be permitted to bring their wives and children with them.

Immigrants are to be free to engage their services to employers selected by themselves, and may avail themselves of the assistance of the Agent-General in procuring employment, upon terms to be agreed upon between them and the parties requiring their services. The immigrant is not to leave the island within ten years of the date of his arrival, unless he shall have paid to the Receiver-General a sum, at the rate of 1*l.* per annum, for every year remaining to complete the term of ten years; and the money thus paid is to be carried to the Free Immigration Fund Account. This provision having been complied with, the Agent-General is to give the immigrant a passport to enable him to leave the island; and any master of a vessel who shall receive an immigrant without the passport, with the intention of taking him away, is to forfeit a sum not exceeding 20*l.* for each offence.

Every immigrant who has served one or more employers for five years, having actually laboured 250 days in each year, shall, on producing a certificate of such service, be entitled to a grant of land of five acres, free of charge, survey, and conveyance, and for recording the title; but the person is not to sell the land granted to him for a period of ten years. If he die previous to the expiration of the time, the land is to be occupied by his wife, and, upon her decease, by his child or children. The Governor, with the advice of the Executive Committee, is to grant unpatented lands and lands forfeited for non-payment of land-tax or quit-rent; and if these lands are not available, he is to purchase lands suitable to the purposes of the law.

In some respects this "Amended Immigration Act" is to be commended. It appears to be based upon the Haytian immigration system, which encourages settlement in the colony. It will be observed, however, that the Bills apply specially to "immigrants from the States of North America, Canada, and the British West-

India Colonies," a class not so easily deluded as the Coolies, but who may nevertheless find, to their cost, that between theory and practice there is a wide difference. It seems to us that the Legislature ought to encourage the introduction of capital wherewith to pay labour, before promoting the introduction of a commodity which is acknowledged to exist already in excess, but the price of which it is sought to lower by unfair competition, at the cost of the very class whose services are to be purchased on the spot for fair and punctual remuneration. The present system of immigration is wrong in principle, and must therefore result unsatisfactorily.

Respecting Coolie immigration, we append a copy of some resolutions, which will speak for themselves, and of an article extracted from the *Jamaica County Union*, pregnant with what we wish we could believe were not well-deserved satire.

IMMIGRATION.

"At the Annual Meeting of the *Jamaica Baptist Union*, held in Montego Bay, from Wednesday, February 17th, to the 24th, 1864,

"It was resolved:

"1st.—That this Board has refrained for some years from giving expression to any opinion on the subject of immigration as hitherto conducted, and is now only induced to break silence from the painful facts in connection with it which have come under its notice, especially the verdicts of Coroner's inquests on the death of several Coolie immigrants brought to this colony, the unrefuted evidence of the Rev. Henry Clarke and others, and numerous cases reported in the public Newspapers, too well sustained by the personal knowledge of individual members of this Board.

"2nd.—That in expressing its opinion on the subject, this Board admits with great satisfaction, that on many estates on which Coolie and other immigrants have been located, they have been treated with all the humanity and consideration which could be desired. And further, that this Board has no doubt but that the planters and others by whom the present system of immigration has been initiated and fostered, have bitter reason to complain that immigration agents in distant parts of the world have transported numbers of persons obtained either by misrepresentation, or totally unadapted to the occupations they are required to pursue, so that idleness, vagabondage, and insubordination, have been the result.

"3rd.—But making all these admissions, this Board cannot forbear from the reiteration of its views published in 1851, and strengthened by recent facts, to the effect, that it is the solemn conviction of this Board that all past Government immigrations to this colony have been unjust in principle, cruel in operation, and destructive in their effects; unjust, because upwards of hundreds of thousands of public money, to which the peasantry have contributed, has been appropriated to the introduction of foreigners to compete with them in the labour-market; cruel, because they

have entailed upon the immigrants themselves an immense amount of disease and suffering; and destructive, because they have brought hundreds, if not thousands, to a premature grave, who have been left to die in circumstances of the greatest destitution.

"4th.—That this Board fully concurs in the sentiments of the Hon. Charles C. Bravo, published in one of the island papers—"That before a country can receive general material benefit from the introduction of population, the bulk of the individuals emigrating to that country must have one or other of the following qualifications: religious and moral education, industry, energy, enterprise, manufacturing skill, educated intelligence, or money capital," and that it is an incontrovertible principle in political economy that nothing can justify the application of the public funds to any other objects but those which, from their nature are certain, or nearly so, to produce general public good. That the trial made has been a costly one, and the result, so far as the public good is concerned, has been a failure.

"5th.—That this Union desires to express its hearty sympathy with the Rev. Henry Clarke, of Trinity Chapel, Westmoreland, under the annoyance and persecution he has experienced for the manly and Christian course pursued by him in bringing to public notice the cruelties which have been inflicted on many of the Coolie immigrants, and the sufferings which large numbers of them are still enduring.

"JAMES M. PHILLIPPO, *Chairman.*

"BENJAMIN MILLARD, *Secretary.*"

A FINE IDEA.

(From the *Jamaica County Union*.)

"It was only the other day we ridiculed the idea of the Kingston journals, in their 'Summary for Home Readers,' informing them that a beast of a hog, weighing 425lbs., (all fat, like our contemporaries' news,) was slaughtered at Trelawny, while, in order to strike English graziers with envy, the gross weight of Christmas stock was dwelt upon with a gusto unctuous in its every letter. Now we have an idea—a somewhat capital one—which we beg the Governor, whom we not only love, but who, we are pleased to write, loves us in return, to accept at our hands. We must preface, however, the donation by a few remarks.

"The object of the amended Immigration Act was the protection of the Coolies from unjust treatment at the hands of their employers. Cruelty to them—so helpless as they are—is, indeed, a heinous crime. It is an offence against the religion of Christ. It is an insult offered to God himself. It has therefore been hemmed round by penalties, and special agents have been appointed for its prevention, so that society may not be outraged by its practice. The success, however, that has attended these philanthropic regulations has been but partial. Coolies die in our highways, starve in our streets, and perish in the colony, for no other reason that we can discover than *pour encourager les autres* in the same course of obstinate misery. Now all this painful display is positively thrown away as so much gratuitous exhibition. Why not turn it to a public benefit? Why not make the agony of

these poor wretches something that might bring in a fund for the payment of those who are retained for their protection? Why not send over a few lank (not fattened) specimens, to the museums of England—to the *Anti-Slavery Society's*, for instance? The sighs of these poor sufferers are actually wasted upon a people so apathetic as ours. Their groans are positively so much thrown away melody. The Coolie, as we see him here, is a sight so common that no one profits by the spectacle. No practical benefit, no moral lesson, accrues through his agony. Why should so much good teaching be lost to the world at large? Why not add to our population through such a legitimate source as we find here? Why not let a few be exhibited in Lancashire, why not some in Ireland? Why not send a sample over to Barbados to induce its population to immigrate here? Why not?

"Our idea, therefore, is this. We would direct a Rawlins to select us a few good samples of attenuated Coolies—there are heaps of them in his district—and so arrange them that they might be exhibited as illustrating the blessings of an 'Amended Immigration Act.' Instead of a Christmas show of well-fed animals, let us have a regular all-the-year-round display of well-starved Asiatics—a museum of bone and gristly ghastliness. A model exhibition could be made for Exeter Hall after the following manner:

"Let the Hall be fitted up like an estate's hospital, with a mud flooring for the Coolies to lie down on. The Coolies selected to go home should be taken with great care from those now sleeping in our streets, and rendered somewhat more hideous by the nightly rains. Prizes for the leanest and most haggard—for those who have been worst treated and most neglected by their agent—the least looked after by their employer—might be awarded to any who produced them, while some little encouragement for extra inhumanity might be allowed to any agent who brought in brilliant specimens of brutal treatment.

"Each Coolie should be attired in his regular immigration uniform, the males with a rag round the loins, the women with a ham-wrapper as cloth for day and coverlid by night, the children as naked as they were born. Over the head of each, against the wall, there might be fixed a paper, detailing their names, weights, ages, the regimen which they have been subjected to, with full particulars of the estates on which they had been located, and the name of the agent who looked after them, as thus:

"STARVUM ESTATE.

"DYINFEST. Aged 40. Weight, when landed from the *Gertrude*, 12 stone. On the estate four months. Now weighs 7 stone 2 lbs. Fed principally on what he could pick up. He has been separated from wife and child lest he should be pampered by their pickings. Has been occasionally locked up, and beaten with a supplejack, for complaining of estate's fare. Could be made thinner yet if put under the training of the Agent of St. James.

"SKELETON HALL ESTATE.

"ALLBONE. Calcutta Coolie aged 38. Weight, now, 5 stone. Lost regularly 5 lbs. a month

while on the property. Diet, unripe guavas, mango stones, and cane trash, with an unlimited supply of cold water to make either tea, soup, or toddy. A hard-working man, but somewhat difficult to get work out of under the generous feeding stated.

“HAPPY PLANTATION.

“DEADHOO. Madras labourer. Has seen better days. On landing from the *Hougomont* was one of the finest Asiatics ever seen. Has been under the doctor's hands, who ordered generous treatment of wine; his overseer most liberally giving him a full supply of low wines on which, with, occasionally, no meat, he managed to sink to his present anatomy. Has never received the rice, fish, or rations ordered by the Act, but has had, at intervals, a spoonful of curry powder and a pinch of cayenne. Came to the island with wife and two children. Has none now. His wife got the cane itch and could do no work, so the estate gave no pay. She died on the roadside. Don't know where her children are, but thinks the John Crows got fat on them. He is six feet high, and weighs 83lbs.”

“The exhibition thus constituted, an admission at 1s. each should be charged in aid of the immigration funds.

“We offer the above suggestion to the Governor, expecting no other fee nor reward for our pains than an invitation to prove the ability of the colony to supply the objects for the Prize Coolie Exhibition. Well, they can be found in any quantity, if sought for.”

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

ON the 21st ult., a deputation waited upon the Chevalier De Andrada, at the Brazilian Legation, No. 9 Cavendish Square, for the purpose of presenting to him an address, adopted by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, to be forwarded, through him, to the Emperor, on the subject of the abolition of the Slave-trade and Slavery in Brazil. The deputation comprised Mr. Josiah Forster, Mr. J. Cropper, of Liverpool; Mr. Thomas Binns, Rev. Dr. Massie, Mr. J. Shewell, Mr. J. Cooper, Mr. W. Allen, Mr. W. Evans, President of the *Emancipation Society*; Professor Newman, Rev. J. Long, of Calcutta; Mr. R. Alsop, Rev. W. Harris, Mr. H. J. Slack, Mr. F. Tuckett, Dr. H. Tomkins, Mr. W. Farmer, and Mr. L. A. Chamerovzow.

Mr. CHAMEROVZOW rose, and said: Before reading the Address, I beg to state, on behalf of the gentlemen present, that the deputation would probably have been much larger had it not been that, in consequence of the approaching Easter holidays, many friends of the cause are out of town, whose attendance had been reckoned upon. We have received a very considerable number of letters from other friends in the country, who would have attended, but were prevented from doing so, owing to circumstances over which they had

no control. The whole of these communications, however, express the deep interest of the writers in the movement which we are now inaugurating for the abolition of Slavery in Brazil, and their hope that it will go forward, and be speedily successful. Before I read the Address which has been adopted by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, I beg to state, that in presenting it we feel a little embarrassed, perhaps, on account of the suspension of the diplomatic relations between the Brazilian Government and our own; but as men engaged in the prosecution of a cause that must command the sympathy of the whole human race, we feel that we stand outside of all political considerations, and that, irrespective of this suspension of diplomatic relations, it is our duty to come forward and express our views on a subject so important as that of the emancipation of the slaves in Brazil, and the abolition of the Slave-trade there. We ask you, Chevalier, if you feel at liberty to do so, as the unofficial representative in this country of the Emperor of Brazil, to receive the address—which, as I have already said, has been unanimously adopted by the Committee, and which has been communicated to the friends of the cause in this country—and to forward it to the Emperor. With your permission, I will now read the Address.

TO HIS MAJESTY, PEDRO II., EMPEROR OF BRAZIL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY:

The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* most respectfully solicit permission to address the Emperor, on the subject of the extinction of the Slave-trade, and of Slavery in Brazil; a subject, in importance second to none which can occupy the attention of a monarch, desiring the welfare of his subjects, amongst whom these two evils exist.

The *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* was instituted to promote the abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world, by means exclusively moral, religious, and pacific. It holds, as a fundamental principle, that so long as Slavery exists, the traffic in slaves will not be suppressed. It regards Slaveholding as “a sin and a crime before God,” and therefore asserts that Slavery is a thing to be abolished without compromise of any kind. Adopting these principles, as a basis, the Committee have felt it to be their duty to appeal, from time to time, to the friends of humanity in all countries where Slavery exists, urging them to promote its extinction, and more especially to address those who are charged with the solemn responsibilities of government, and who have the power of assuming the initiative.

For many years, the Committee observed with deep regret the continuance of the African Slave-trade to Brazil, and made earnest representations to the British Government to use its utmost efforts to obtain from that of Brazil the abolition of this wicked traffic. The Committee, however, were not parties to the passing of the Act of 1845, known as the Aberdeen Act, not only because its application involved a recourse to armed force, but also because they had reason to believe that many influential persons in Brazil were actively endeavouring to promote the utter extinction of the foreign slave-trade, in accordance with the dictates of humanity, and with the obligations to which the nation stood pledged. The Committee have frequently protested against that Act, and suggested its repeal. They rejoice in the reiterated assurance, that for some years past no negroes have been landed in Brazil from Africa; and they consider that the extinction of this branch of the Slave-trade, which is affirmed by the British officials in their annual reports to their superiors at home, should be accepted as evidence of the sincere desire of the Emperor's government to carry out its treaty obligations. In their reports, in their various publications, and on every suitable occasion, the Committee have given prominence to these proofs of good faith on the part of Brazil, and have placed her conduct in contrast with that of Spain, whose shameful violation of her engagements is admitted to be a scandal to the civilized world. They now deem it to be their duty to record, in a more formal manner, their high appreciation of the later efforts of the Emperor's government to put down the African Slave-trade, by the enforcement of laws specially enacted against slave-trading, and their satisfaction at the result.

The Committee have taken a deep interest in the attempts which have been made, of recent years, to prohibit the inter-provincial Slave-trade by sea, and the abolition of slave-marts throughout the Brazilian empire. They venture to express the sincere hope that these efforts may be soon crowned with success, and that the Emperor will himself deign to promote them. So long as the demand for slaves continues in any province, it is vain to expect the abolition of the sale and barter of them. Awaiting legislative action, however, in this direction, by the Brazilian Government, it may be a fit subject of investigation, how far it is possible to mitigate the dreadful misery that must result from the separation and dispersion of families, and the rupture of all those ties which bind to life even a slave.

In touching upon the larger question of the emancipation of the slaves, the Committee are fully cognizant of the difficulties which beset it, and of the magnitude of the interests involved. Far be it from the Committee to presume to

determine the exact way in which so important a measure as the liberation of upwards of 3,000,000 of slaves is to be accomplished. Nevertheless, they would venture to submit that the first step towards a practical solution would be to direct attention to the whole subject. Since Great Britain emancipated the slaves in her colonies, the principle upon which she acted has been adopted and carried into effect by Denmark, by France, by Portugal, and more recently by Holland. In each instance, excepting that of Portugal, emancipation was made immediate, upon the principle of compensation to the slaveholders. In the case of Portugal, the abolition of Slavery was made prospective within a period of twenty years, dating from 1854. The last and most remarkable practical application of the principles the Society advocates, may be cited in the emancipation of the serfs in Russia—to the number of 23,000,000—a social revolution which has been accomplished without violence, which is producing the most beneficial results throughout that vast empire, and is calculated in the future greatly to develop its material resources, and consolidate its moral strength and influence. The same principles have taken root and fructified on the continent of North America. Here a fratricidal contest has arisen on the sole issue of freedom or Slavery. Notwithstanding the interested attempts which have been made to attribute this sanguinary revolution to other causes, it is now established without possibility of disproof, that it originated in Slavery alone; a warning which wise rulers will value, and, foreseeing the evil, will guard against a similar calamity. Looking back, therefore, upon the past, and seeing how marvelously the spirit of freedom has been developed within the last quarter of a century, as manifested in the emancipation of the slaves in the countries mentioned; contemplating the struggle between the Northern and Southern States of the American Union, as certain to result in the liberation of the slaves in the latter, it appears to the Committee, that the time is not far distant, when circumstances will bring the question of emancipation most forcibly under the attention of the Brazilian Government, as is already the case with Spain, in relation to the slaves in Cuba.

The work of emancipating from the most degraded condition in which human beings can be placed, more than three millions of his fellow-creatures, is one the most worthy of a monarch's laudable ambition. Territorial conquest, the material development of a country's resources, the acquisition of power and political influence among the nations, are mere idle dreams, as compared with the imperishable glory to be derived from the enfranchisement of an entire people from the degradation, debasement, and suffering, incidental to the condition of Slavery, while dwelling in the midst of another possessing all the rights of

manhood, and enjoying all the privileges of citizens. The greater the difficulties in the achievement of so noble a work, the greater the glory to be derived from it. The Committee would earnestly hope that the Emperor may be moved to address himself seriously to a consideration of this vast subject, that he will be touched by the sufferings of so many of his people, and that he may be guided by Almighty wisdom in promoting the fulfilment of the grand consummation indicated in the sacred Scriptures, "to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke."

On behalf of the Committee,

Signed, ROBERT ALSOP, *Chairman of Committee.*

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, *Secretary.*

27, New Broad Street, E.C.

London, March 4, 1864.

THE CHEVALIER DE ANDRADA: I hope, gentlemen, that you will excuse my bad English. I can assure you that it will be an agreeable duty to me to transmit this address to His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil. I say it will be to me an agreeable duty, because personally I have a very strong opinion against the institution of Slavery, stronger, perhaps, even than that by which your Committee is animated. Notwithstanding that I am a Brazilian, I never had a slave in my possession. But, gentlemen, the Address says, and as you know, this question is a very serious one. It has been for some time under the consideration of the Imperial Parliament. A great many measures have been proposed in both Chambers about the institution of Slavery. We feel the wrongfulness of separating wives from husbands, and children from parents, and so forth. Recently, in the Institution of Advocates, the President of that body made a very able speech, in which he pressed upon the Government to consider the abolition of Slavery in that country, and expressed a hope, that in a few years there would not be a slave in the whole of the empire. Not only so, but the Emperor himself and all his ministers, and all the Brazilian people, believe that it is a duty to humanity to abolish Slavery. But as I have already said, and as you know, gentlemen, it is a measure attended with great difficulty. It is necessary to consider the means which will be required to provide for the support of the slaves after they become free. I have observed, with regret, that for some time past there has been in England a very bad and erroneous opinion concerning the condition of our slaves. Some time ago I received a letter from the editor of the *Quarterly Review* concerning an article which appeared in its pages. The statements contained in it were denied by an Englishman living

in this country, but who had been a resident in Brazil. The editor wrote a letter to me, requesting me to inform him which of the two statements was correct, whether the allegations contained in the article were or were not true, because he wished to set the matter right in the *Review*. I answered that letter most conscientiously, and stated what was really the condition of the slave in that country, and also the social state of the black people after they were emancipated. You know that, in the United States of America, the negro, even when free, is never allowed to enjoy the rights of citizenship; but in Brazil, from the moment he becomes free, he enjoys the same privileges as I do myself, with very few exceptions; such, for instance, as that he is not allowed to be a member of the Legislative Council. He can neither vote for a member of Congress, nor himself be elected to that body; but he can be a Minister of State in Brazil. Coloured people, as, for instance, mulattoes, are physicians and magistrates; so that their condition as free men is not so bad as it is generally thought to be in England. There are, of course, some abuses that are incidental to a country in which Slavery exists; but, as I said to you before, I can assure you that not only the Emperor, but his Government, his advisers, and every Brazilian possessing the feeling of humanity, think that it is not only the duty, but that it will be for the interest of our country, to abolish Slavery. I have seen a great many articles in the newspapers, which very much misrepresent us in the matter. Among other proofs of our desire to get rid of the evil, there is, as I have already pointed out to you, the able speech of the President of the Society of Advocates, and also of a very respectable body, the Royal Society of Brazil, the subject of which is the abolition of Slavery in that country, recommending the Government to consider the means necessary to be taken for abolishing it at the very earliest period.

MR. JOSIAH FORSTER: It is a great satisfaction to myself and all our friends to have had an opportunity of hearing the expressions which have fallen from thee, respecting the feelings of the Emperor of Brazil, his ministers, and people. For many years, as may be known to thee, we have taken a warm interest in the subject of the abolition of the slave-trade first, and subsequently of Slavery itself, by the British Government. It was a long time before we could induce the British Government to take either the one step or the other; but we rejoice that we were enabled to bring to bear an enlightening influence upon public opinion on the question of Slavery, as well as that of the slave-trade. We succeeded in convincing

the nation that both Slavery and the slave-trade are utterly opposed to the principles of Christianity, and the consequence was, that both those systems were done away with. We wish, in the first place, to make an acknowledgment of satisfaction with the act of the Emperor of Brazil in abolishing the slave-trade. We hope and believe that it was done in good faith on his part.

In Great Britain we found, that having abolished the slave-trade, we had but half done our work. That was a great and good object to accomplish, but, as the public mind became enlightened, they saw also the sinfulness of Slavery itself; but we do not wish Brazil to be so long in arriving at that conclusion as Great Britain was. We had to labour for years and years, and to bring to bear every influence in our power upon our Government before we succeeded in accomplishing our object. We want to see Brazil do the work quicker than we did, and for this very good reason, that the sooner the work is done the better, not only for the slaves, but for Great Britain and her colonies; the latter of which, we believe, would be more flourishing, her people happier, more peaceable and industrious in freedom than in Slavery. The nation at large, as we expected, was materially benefited by doing away with Slavery, to say nothing of the principles of justice and Christianity, which imperatively demanded the act. I assert that the country itself has been greatly benefited by the abolition of Slavery. In this respect we want Brazil to copy our example. We are not speaking theoretically upon this subject, but from actual experience; and we are persuaded that similar results would accrue to the empire of Brazil by the adoption of the same measure. We came here to plead with the people of Brazil, out of love to them. We feel them to be our brethren. We came in no political capacity, but simply in a philanthropic, humane, and Christian spirit. We are stimulated by no other motive but that of doing justice and loving mercy; and we trust that the Emperor will acknowledge and feel with us that that is our first duty. We have made representations to him upon the subject some ten or twelve years ago. I belong to the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers. Two of our representatives went over to Rio de Janeiro some years ago, and took from us an Address, which was presented to the Emperor of Brazil: in matter it was a memorial, congratulating him on the steps he had taken, and at the same time placing our cause—the abolition of Slavery—before him. We do not, therefore, come here as novices in the matter, or as new labourers in the cause, but merely to repeat the request we have before preferred, that the measure we

are now urging upon the Emperor may be promptly and effectually carried out by him. We rejoice to find that Brazil is already in a prosperous condition. We are convinced that it will greatly contribute to promote the political, economical, and religious character of the people of that country, if they will carry out, without delay, the abolition of Slavery. We think that the experience we have had of the successful results of a similar measure in our own colonies, warrants us, on economical grounds, in pleading for its adoption in Brazil. There are two grounds upon which we would press this measure upon the attention of the Brazilian Government; first, on that of justice: but when you have done justice, and sought to act according to the will of God in the matter, we are persuaded you will find that, in a political point of view, your country has been benefited by the measure. I have no doubt that all my friends, present and absent, will sympathize with my warm expressions of desire that the empire of Brazil may be prosperous. We hope and believe that the emancipated slaves may and will become useful citizens. We hope that the whole population of the country at large may be improved in its moral, social, and, above all, in its Christian position. We are convinced, as one means of bringing about such a result, the termination of Slavery, prudently, wisely, faithfully, and confidently in God, will tend to that end. We are here to plead for men who cannot plead for themselves. I am glad to have had the opportunity of taking the liberty of saying these few words. I did not mean to occupy so much time, nor to prevent my friends expressing their feeling on the matter. I have only, in conclusion, to express my obligations for the patience with which I have been listened to.

THE CHEVALIER DE ANDRADA: I agree entirely in your opinion upon the subject of the abolition of Slavery; but as I told you before, our great difficulty is to provide for the maintenance of the people who become free. It must be remembered that there are a great number of them—two millions and a half. If we emancipate them, we must provide for their maintenance, because, as you know, the black people are very lazy and vicious. If we do not take care of them, every one of them will have to go to the hospitals, as is commonly the case with the emancipated Africans.

MR. JOSIAH FORSTER: I recommend my friend to take the example of Great Britain. Did our slaves, after they were emancipated, want to be sent to the hospitals?

THE CHEVALIER DE ANDRADA: But your climate is different to that of Brazil, which is very warm, and where the slaves become very lazy. I know the fact by ex-

perience, because formerly I had charge of the orphans of my country. I had the care of all the emancipated slaves. I know that I was obliged to send to the hospital every day a great many blacks. They do not like to be employed in any labour. They go to the taverns, drinking.

Mr. JOSIAH FORSTER: We do not ask any thing for the slaves, but that they shall support themselves by their labour as other persons do. No doubt it is the duty of the Government to make provision that when the slaves obtain their liberty they shall be compelled to work; that there shall be applied to them, as well as to others, the scriptural precept, that if any man will not work neither shall he eat. No man has a right to expect to eat if he will not work. But what has been the case during the last year and a half in the Southern States of America? It was there said that the slaves, if emancipated, would not work; but what has been the actual result of their emancipation? Why, that they do work willingly for themselves. Many of them are obtaining their liberty, by means which certainly we do not approve—for we are friends of peace and opponents of war—and have applied themselves most industriously to earn their own living. It is astonishing how quickly they have adapted themselves to their new condition; particularly in the settlements about Port Royal, the slaves of South Carolina. I do not doubt but that the same result would take place in Brazil if the slaves were emancipated. They do not need the protection of Government, they can support themselves. It is surprising how well they apply themselves to work; far better, indeed, than I could have anticipated. We have a right, therefore, to point to their example as an encouragement to you. Of course it is not for us to prescribe the manner in which the Emperor and people of Brazil shall act. We simply ask, as our Memorial states, that the Brazilians will bend their whole attention to the subject. We advise them to act upon sound Christian principles and wise policy, and justice is always the best policy; and we have confidence that if they will do so, they will soon devise for themselves the best means to carry out the emancipation of their slaves, and that that measure will be attended with the most beneficial results.

The Rev. Dr. MASSIE: Might I be allowed to add a few words to those which have already fallen from our venerable friend Josiah Forster. We are deeply interested in the intercourse which should exist between Brazil and Great Britain. We greatly deplore that there has arisen any occasion for the suspension, either on one side or the other, of diplomatic intercourse between the two countries. We should rejoice to see that

intercourse warmer and more cordial than it ever was. So far as we can do any thing to promote its revival, I am sure that every gentleman here would only be too happy to do all in his power to bring about such a result. We look, however, at the existence of Slavery in Brazil as giving a handle to some persons in our country to say, "Brazil maintains Slavery, and therefore Great Britain, as a nation, should be willing to recognise certain other States, who wish to be received into the community of nations, even although they are resolved to perpetuate the system of bondage." The Southern States of America, now in rebellion, have entreated this country, France, and other nations, to recognise them as an independent Republic. We, as a people, all through Great Britain, have replied, "Never, whilst Slavery is maintained upon your territory." We therefore should be happy to see Brazil in the same condition as those nations which have been referred to in the Memorial now presented through you, Chevalier, to His Majesty the Emperor. We think that it would furnish strong grounds for our applying to our political representatives, and urging upon them to use all means in their power to bring about a revival of the intercourse between the two countries. We ask, therefore, that the Emperor and people of Brazil will look at the question of Slavery, and manifest their desire practically for its abolition upon their slaves. I think we must all agree in the sentiments which our venerable and honoured friend, Mr. Josiah Forster, has addressed to us. He is a patriarch in the ranks of the anti-slavery champions, and an honour to those with whom he has been so long associated. He has expressed himself perfectly confident—a confidence which we share in—that, let the slaves be placed just as we are, they will provide for themselves; that they will very soon find it to be their duty, as it is their interest, to work as well as we do.

The Rev. J. LONG: I spent five months in Russia during the last year, during which time I applied myself especially to the ascertaining the results of serf emancipation in that country. I think that the friends of the abolition of Slavery throughout the world have great cause for encouragement at the results of the experiment which the Emperor has made in that country. Some years ago we were told that there were difficulties in the way which would render such a measure impracticable; that the country was under a despotic rule; and that no popular liberty existed in it: but all those difficulties have been overcome, and 23,000,000 of people have been emancipated in the most peaceable manner and with the most beneficial results. The measure was

not followed, as it was predicted it would be, by outrages and riots on the part of the peasantry, and by attacks upon property, but the whole thing was done in the most quiet and peaceable manner imaginable. Before the act of emancipation took place, the advocates of serfdom in Russia, who are a very powerful body, asserted that the abolition of serfdom would lead to a complete disruption of the empire. It was asserted that the freed people would wander wild through the country, and commit all sorts of outrages; but, on the contrary, every thing passed off in the most tranquil and agreeable manner. This fact ought to operate as an encouragement to the friends of emancipation in their efforts to abolish Slavery in Brazil. Not only are the emancipated serfs working for their living, but, in every direction, they are becoming purchasers of land.

PROFESSOR NEWMAN: Perhaps you will allow me to say, that although the gentlemen present agree that Slavery in no case can be otherwise than wrong, yet I do not think that the English people ever did the Brazilians the injustice of believing that Slavery in that country is any thing like so bad as that which exists in the Southern States of America.

THE REV. W. HARRIS: In reference to the idleness you have spoken of as existing among the emancipated slaves, we think that it is not the result of colour, but that it is one of the ills appertaining to the system of Slavery. On the contrary, we believe that the enjoyment of liberty would induce in them industrious habits, just as it does in the white man. That the very idleness complained of, and which is urged sometimes as justifying the perpetuation of Slavery, is an argument for its abolition, because the laziness is the result of the slave system. When Slavery existed in the West-India Islands, where there is less heat, and the climate is not so close as it is in Brazil, there the complaint of idleness prevailed; yet it was found, that when those same slaves were liberated they were willing to work, and maintained themselves in comfort; and we doubt not that the same effect would be produced by the same means in Brazil, although in their condition of bondage slaves they may have indulged in idleness, for a slave will not work more than he is obliged to do. Laziness is one of the evils which we complain of as being inflicted upon the man by his state of Slavery.

THE CHEVALIER DE ANDRADA: Yes, that is true; but our difficulty is that we wish to provide for their maintenance when emancipated, and we have not yet been able to see how to do it. I again repeat that they are accustomed to idleness, and only work when they are obliged. The climate in

Brazil is very different to what it is in most other places: it induces a tendency to laziness. Those who live in the country are very lazy, probably owing to the ease with which they obtain the means of living. They will not work unless it is absolutely necessary for them to do so. But, as I have already told you, the Government and people of Brazil think that it is their duty and their interest, as soon as they possibly can, entirely to abolish Slavery. A great many steps have already been taken there to give freedom to the slave. Every year the minister has recourse to measures which give freedom to a great many of them.

MR. JOSIAH FORSTER: Just allow me to mention one circumstance. It will always be found that the more slaves are emancipated, the more difficult will it be to hold the remainder in bondage. This was found to be the case in the British West Indies. The greater the number that became free, the greater were the difficulties of the proprietors of the remainder to hold them in Slavery. The slaves naturally became uneasy: they were unwilling to work when they saw those who had been in their condition introduced into a state of freedom. It was found that Slavery could not be abolished gradually, because, as some acquired a certain portion of freedom, the rest became dissatisfied with their condition. This made them refractory and ungovernable. The more you elevate the mind of man from the position of an animal to that of an intellectual being, the more difficult you find it to hold him in Slavery. That has been the invariable experience wherever Slavery has existed. You will find that it is the case now in the United States of America. It is a most painful problem that they are working out in that country in relation to Slavery. I speak with a feeling of interest in the Brazilian people. I am persuaded, that in the present state of society, the more they bend their minds to the carrying out of a wise, prudent, and Christian measure of emancipation, the happier they will become as a nation. It will be easier to do it now than to defer it to some other period: it may now be done peaceably and quietly. We are much obliged to thee for the kind way in which thou hast received us, and for thy promise to forward the memorial to the Emperor.

MR. CHAMEROVZOW: Before the deputation withdraws, I beg permission to add one other fact to those which have been already stated regarding the results of emancipation. Last year the slaves of Surinam were emancipated. I have received a letter from a friend who has given great attention to the subject, and who has constant correspondence throughout that colony, and who states that the slaves are working for their former

employers, and that every thing in the island is going on satisfactorily.

Mr. BINNS : As Josiah Forster has stated, this is not the first time our attention has been given to the subject of Slavery in Brazil. The brother of our honoured friend, who devoted his time and his life to this work, for he died whilst engaged in the work of anti-slavery in Tennessee, presented an address to the Emperor of Brazil. Our friends, John Candler and Wilson Burgess, who would have been with us to-day had their health permitted, were appointed a deputation to present an address to the Emperor of Brazil. I hold in my hand a narrative of the proceedings on that occasion, which I shall be happy to present to you.

Mr. JOSIAH FORSTER : We must take the liberty before we depart of introducing to the Chevalier de Andrada our friend, John Cropper, the son of James Cropper, who was a great friend to the anti-slavery cause, and who was much respected by those who laboured in it. He will ever be remembered for his untiring zeal in connection with Thomas Fowell Buxton, and others in bringing about the emancipation of the slaves in our own colonies.

Mr. JOHN CROPPER : It gives me great pleasure to be present on this interesting occasion. I have been much gratified with the reception you have so kindly given us, Sir. We wish that every encouragement may be given to the Emperor to carry out the emancipation of the slaves in his dominions.

PROFESSOR NEWMAN : None of us have a doubt of the issue of the events taking place in the United States of America. We know and deplore the fearfulness of the war now raging there; but the final result, in our minds is by no means doubtful. We should be very glad if, by any intervention on our part, or that of others, such a dreadful catastrophe could be averted. We cannot help thinking that it will be felt in America that there is an agitation of the subject of Slavery throughout the civilized world. It will be a great thing if our friend will carry to the Emperor information as to the feeling in this country, that something may at once be done; that measures may be put in a train for the speedy extinction of Slavery.

Mr. JOSIAH FORSTER : It would greatly assist in the abolition of Slavery by Spain, if we could point to the emancipation of Slavery in Bengal.

The deputation then withdrew.

THE REV. DR. MASSIE'S "AMERICA."

We again call the attention of anti-slavery friends to the Rev. Massie's volume on

"America," already reviewed in our columns. We are anxious that persons interested in the progress of the American struggle should not lose an opportunity of obtaining a work so valuable as this one of our esteemed colleague's, the first edition of which is being rapidly exhausted, and there being little probability of a second. Dr. Massie has issued a circular, calling attention to his volume, and we shall be happy if our publication of it enables us to promote a second edition.

"30 Lonsdale Square, London.

"Most unexpected to me was the gratifying opportunity afforded of visiting the Transatlantic Churches, as an advocate for the enslaved and oppressed. Thus was I enabled to survey the expansive regions of the United-States' territory, and hold intercourse with Christian friends, lay and ministerial, in more than thirty different towns. In fulfilling the instructions, under which I performed my mission, to prepare historical records which might elucidate the present state of the American mind, I have sought to prove a faithful witness to what I saw and learned, as I tried to be of what my own countrymen felt and desired in reference to America,

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"It is possible some personal friends will indicate their remembrance of a *quondam* active coadjutor, now retired from public movements. Should such consideration so influence the friend into whose hands this circular may fall, as that he may desire to promote the introduction of the volume into Book Societies, Congregational and Sunday-School Libraries, any letter sent to the address of this note will receive prompt attention.

"JAMES W. MASSIE."

BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

BIRMINGHAM LADIES' NEGROES' FRIEND SOCIETY.

"A MEETING of the above Society was held on the 16th of February at Edgbaston. The assembly was unusually large. The Secretary read extracts from letters relating to Missions, settlements, and schools in the West Indies, the West Coast of Africa, and Demerara. At the present moment the most engrossing subject is the condition of those coloured people whom the war in America has already liberated, and is daily freeing by thousands. The *Edinburgh Review* states that upwards of a million have been thus released. The American Missionary Association was the first to promote a Mission to the freed people, and the reports furnished by Mr. Lockwood, Cap-

tain Wilder, and the Rev. Mansfield French, are very satisfactory and interesting. At this time not only are there *National Freed Men's Societies* in all the large cities, with which the *Freed Men's Aid Society* in London corresponds, but Associations connected with a great number of coloured churches. The Society of Friends is also actively at work, and a school organized by them is described as the one bright spot at Cairo, on the Mississippi, a locality where 2500 had died of pneumonia, small-pox, and measles. Mr. Field, of St. Louis, who appealed to Government on their behalf, was appointed superintendent. General Grant had aided in these measures, and General Banks had pursued similar plans in his department of the south-west, where there are seventy plantations worked by free-labour. One of the planters who had always insisted that negroes never would work but as slaves, hired what he considered a due proportion to his land. He presently found that his force was far too great, and he hired other deserted estates from the Government to occupy his surplus hands. It appears to the Committee of this Society that there are many and powerful inducements for the English people to help in the amazing work that has opened so suddenly and is extending so widely before the benevolent people in America.

"A Committee of twelve ladies was appointed to consider the best means of raising a fund in Birmingham to help the heroic and peaceful volunteers who have gone forth to educate and civilize the negro on the unhealthy Southern seaboard or river banks, carrying on their labours of self-devoted love almost within range of the enemy's pickets. On some donations being paid in for the object, Mrs. John Evans, who had taken a warm and active interest in the proceedings at the table, offered to be the Treasurer. Her sudden death on the following day imparted a sadness to the Committee which will continue to be felt, while they desire that the work may be consecrated to themselves and to others by her removal from her Christian labours of love on earth to a higher sphere. The decease of the Rev. John Riland since the last annual meeting is a great loss to the Society, for he was one of its most valued friends and oldest benefactors. The Treasurer announced the receipt of a legacy of 50*l.* from his executors, a most acceptable addition to the resources of the Society, to meet those extra claims which so constantly occur.

"At a Committee, held on the 23rd, for the purpose of appointing a Treasurer, &c., it was decided that the subscribers to the Society be invited to give or procure 5*s.* each, which will realise 50*l.* or more, and that the public be applied to for liberal donations. These may be paid into Messrs. Moilliet and Son's Bank, Cherry Street, and will be gratefully received by B. H. Cadbury, George Street, and Mrs. Middlemore, Elvetham Place, Treasurers to the fund. Mrs. Edmund Sturge and Miss Cadbury, Frederick Street, will be happy to give further information."

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS IN GLOUCESTER.

A few weeks ago the city of Gloucester was favoured with the visit of a pro-Southern advocate, Mr. J. H. Smith, who announced two lectures to be delivered at the Working-Men's Institute. The first lecture was attended by about a hundred persons, amongst whom were many friends of the North. The lecturer was frequently interrupted by questions as to the accuracy of his statements, and at the close of the lecture there was a spirited discussion, conducted, on the part of the Northern sympathizers, by the Rev. William Collings, Baptist minister of Gloucester. At the second lecture there was a miserable attendance, not twenty persons being present, and therefore the lecture was postponed *sine die*. In consequence of this movement in favour of the South, the Rev. Sella Martin was invited to lecture on the subject, and the New Corn Exchange was well filled by a respectable auditory, who were addressed by Mr. Martin for nearly two hours, with great effect, "On the Treatment of the Slaves in the South, and the condition of the Free Negroes in the North," and on the general aspects of the American question. The chair was occupied by the Rev. W. Young, B.A., minister of the Independent Chapel. He was supported by the ministers of all the other Dissenting congregations, and by a large number of influential citizens of Gloucester. There was not a breath of opposition, and the proceedings altogether were of a most unanimous and satisfactory character.

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